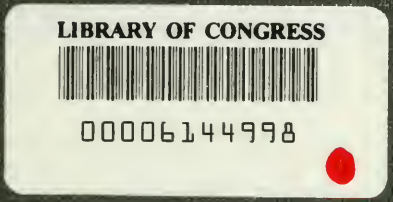
E 458
.3
.T825



THE TRUE ISSUES NOW INVOLVED.

Shall the Republic stand on the foundation laid by our Patriotic Fathers, or shall the Nation be sacrificed to the covetousness and knavery of the Confederates in Treason?

THE

LOYAL NORTHERN DEMOCRACY

ABHOR

SECESSION, REBELLION,

AND

DISUNION.

JUDGE WOODWARD'S POSITION DEFINED

ON

SLAVERY, SECESSION, AND THE WAR.

N. B. BROWNE, ESQ., TO THE HON. CHARLES J. BIDDLE.

113 South Fifth Street,
August 28th, 1863.

Hon. Charles J. Biddle,
Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 27th inst. in regard to my remarks concerning Judge Woodward, on taking the chair at the meeting of the National Union Party on Wednesday evening last. The published reports of the speeches delivered on that occasion are obviously incomplete, and not intended to be full or literal. I certainly did not undertake to represent Judge Woodward's opinions on the issues now pending, from my own personal knowledge; for, I am not aware of having exchanged words with him since the outbreak of the present rebellion. On the contrary, in commenting upon the opinions which I attributed to him, I expressly stated either my authority, or the

E457
.3
.T825

nature of it, quoting partly from his speech of December 13, 1860, and partly from current reports of his opinions, unreservedly given and made public by their frequent repetition; and, in reference to these latter, stating that I had them from undoubted sources, and could therefore speak of them as confidently as if I had them from personal knowledge.

But as my remarks have been thought worthy of your attention, and that there may be no room for misapprehension in regard to them, it is but fair to myself as well as Judge Woodward that I should repeat them for your information. I do so from a written draft of them.

In speaking of the remark recently made by a leading Southern journal, that since the defeat at Gettysburg and the surrender of Vicksburg the only hope of the South was in French intervention, or Democratic successes at the North, I said "that foreign intervention was too remote a probability for them to depend upon; but as to the latter part of the programme, the Southern rebels themselves could not well have chosen more fitting instruments than the principal Democratic nominees at the North. To say nothing of the candidate for the Governorship of Ohio, it might be affirmed of Judge Woodward, the nominee in this State, that if John C. Calhoun himself—that arch-traitor—could be raised from his dishonored grave, and placed in the gubernatorial chair of Pennsylvania, he could not serve the interests of the Rebellion better. I say this without any want of respect to Judge Woodward; for his ability, high character, and sincerity, are undoubted. But these very qualities, in the present case, make such opinions the more dangerous, and lend them an influence more potent for evil.

"To prove this, I have only to ask your attention briefly to his views on the three issues, at this time transcending all others in importance; I mean, Slavery, Secession, and the War for the Union. On each of these, Judge Woodward entertains the views of the most extreme Southern radicalism.

"First, as to Slavery. He is not content to stand with the State Rights Democracy of other days, and leave slaveholders in the possession of such rights and protection as they had under the Constitution. But in his speech of December, 1860, he boldly proclaims that 'human bondage and property in man is divinely sanctioned, if not ordained;' and that 'Negro Slavery is an incalculable blessing.' These opinions, thus uttered, have lost nothing by the lapse of time; for on another occasion, he declared, unreservedly and emphatically, that 'to think against Slavery is a sin, to talk against it is a crime!' And more lately, he has affirmed, that 'agitation on the subject of Slavery is infidelity, and comes from the instigation of Satan.'

"But, as to Secession. Judge Woodward approves of the course, and justifies the act of Secession, if he appears to hesitate as to the absolute right of it. Although looking in the opposite direction, he yet sustains and encourages Secession, and no man need go further. Practically, the people of the South have reached Secession by the same road. He may be sincere and conscientious in his views, but he must bear the responsibility of having given the sanction of his name and high position to their rebellious course. For if his speech of 1860 left any doubt on that point, the recent approval and indorsement of it, on his behalf, by the Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, removes that doubt. To republish such sentiments, *after the fact* of Secession, is an aggravation of the original offence, hard to reconcile with loyalty.

"Thirdly. Judge Woodward is opposed to the war, and in favor of peace, on any terms; as much so as Vallandigham, or Fernando Wood. I have heard it stated, that, on former occasions, he rebuked the earlier concessions of his own party to the patriotic war spirit of the country. But we have no need to place this upon any uncertain authority; we have his language in 1860, in advance of Secession: 'We hear it said, Let South Carolina go out of the Union peaceably; I say, let her go peaceably, if she go at all.' And in 1863, after South Carolina had gone out, and ten other rebellious States with her, to re-

peat such language is to say, 'Let them all go peaceably.' Truly, with the success of such a candidate and such principles, Gettysburg will have been fought in vain; the battle for the defence of our own soil against the Rebellion is still to be fought."

These were my remarks, so far as they related especially to Judge Woodward, somewhat fuller than the report, but substantially as delivered. They are at your service.

You will perceive that no statement is made upon my personal knowledge as derived from him, but the sources of my information are indicated in every case. I may add, sir, that the most material part of the language above quoted, apart from the speech of 1860, was derived by me from a public address delivered in this city, by a gentleman of the highest character, several months before Judge Woodward was nominated. The sentiment then attributed was regarded by the speaker, and I believe by most of the hearers, as presenting the rare moral phenomenon of a cultivated and Christian mind under the dominion of such an idea, as that "to think against Slavery is a sin;" and how little protection against the lowest form of prejudice a high judicial training and position afforded, when a Judge could descend from the supreme tribunal of the State to define it to be "a crime to talk against Slavery."

These sentiments thus attributed to Judge Woodward, I fear, neither he nor you can escape. That speech, which must have sounded like a new and strange Declaration in Independence Square, contains them in express terms, or by necessary implication. The identical thoughts, indeed, the same peculiar turn and force of expression, are there No candid man will deny it. And whatever of error that speech contained originally, has acquired startling emphasis of late, repeated and approved as it has been by you on his behalf. Eleven of the States *have* seceded, as he invited them to do: Slavery *has* solemnly challenged the world as to her right to be the corner-stone of society and government, claiming, as he did for it, a Divine ordination; and the rebellion, in arms for more than half a presidential term, *has* resisted the power and resources of the Government, encouraged to do so by just such advocacy of peace on any terms. And yet at a time when the fairest portion of your State was desolate in the track of the Southern invader, and its soil was red with the blood of so many thousands of loyal soldiers who fell in its defence, you rise in your chair and pronounce such sentiments as a signal exhibition of statesman-like sagacity, and join with its author in re-affirming a speech, the whole argument of which was to prove that, in this controversy with rebellion, the South was right and the North was wrong!

In years past, when the defence of Southern rights and institutions was made under the Constitution, and by means of legitimate agitation, I stood in the front rank of their friends; but from the hour that violent hands have been laid upon the Constitution and the Union, and an impious attempt has been made to overturn both, I have not hesitated as to my duty as a loyal citizen. The example of such loyal Democrats as Cass and Dickinson, Butler and Dix, Holt and Andrew Johnson, and a host of others, is sufficient for me. I have with them faithfully upheld the Government, with whatever influence I possessed.

Impressed with the transcendent importance of the issue now before the people of Pennsylvania, I spoke at the meeting on Wednesday evening, of the opinions of Judge Woodward with plainness, and I hope with courtesy and fairness. If in my remarks, either sentiment or language was attributed to him which he disavows, I stand ready to make the correction. But if, on the contrary, they are substantially accurate, you must agree with me, that it would be difficult to find a better living representative of the principles of John C. Calhoun than your candidate.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
N. B. BROWNE.

A FEW WORDS

TO LOYAL DEMOCRATS.

BY

One who Knows and who Honors them.

THESE are times when no man who loves his country can be idle in her defence, or silent in her cause. The writer of these "Few Words" has been familiar with the political history of the Republic for over thirty years. He has never held or desired a political office; never sought one for himself or for a friend. He has no other interest to-day in the result of any election than the interest common to all loyal citizens. Yet he does not deem that to seek office or to accept it is necessarily to be deficient in patriotism; on the contrary, he knows that those who for good motives, and with loyal views, desire to serve their country, sacrifice more than they gain, and deserve all honor and hearty support. They are the men whom we must elect, or leave the country, as has been too much our misfortune, to greedy aspirants, who are even too selfish to be ambitious, and who would rather be a street-sweeper than President, if the salary and patronage of the street broom were as great as those of the Executive besom. We know such men by their deeds and by their words. They have no principles, except such as are marketable. Pro-slavery to-day, they would be Abolitionist to-night, if their personal ends could be forwarded thereby. Peace men now, they would be war men to-morrow, if only their precious health were guaranteed and their pockets assured of a golden lining.

Precisely such men are now striving to embarrass the Government, and to defeat the loyal people of the land by factious opposition to the national cause. Political hypocrites, like Mawworm they "wants to be persecuted," and despairing of consequence in any other way, espouse a cause which is not simply unpopular but unholy. With a canting pretence of regard for the liberties of the citizen, the freedom of speech, and the interests of the poor, they care for no poor save those who have votes, for no freedom of speech except such as repeats their treason, and for no liberty of the citizen except the liberty to defy the Government, and work with insolent wickedness in behalf of the rebellion. Audacity always commands a certain degree of respect from the unthinking; and though these apostles of treason run less actual risk than a mule in a Confederate army train, they give themselves out as second only to their Magnus Apollo, Jefferson Davis, Duke of Deficit and Orchiarch of Repudiation. Like the fly in the mail coach, they flatter themselves "what a dust *we* raise." This dust, however blown, obscures in some honest eyes the merits of the great controversy now pending, and distracts their views of duty. We wish to present in plain and clear language certain facts of history, and to paint in the sunlight of truth and patriotism the true character of these deceivers; that no false pretence of wrong or injury received may enable them to impose on a public too generous; and that the false coin of their pretended patriotism may be nailed to the counter as base treason.

The true issues now involved in the elections in loyal States are not hard to define. They are simply: Shall the republic stand on the foundation laid by our patriotic fathers, or shall the nation be sacrificed to the covetousness and knavery of the confederates in treason? Shall the principles of freedom, the honor of industry, and the nobility of labor be defended, or shall the dogma be established and accepted that capital, North as well as South, has a Divine right to own in fee simple and to convey for a money consideration its human chattels? Shall universal education be the practice and the rule, or shall refinement, and the exercise of the higher and more noble faculties and perceptions be restricted to the rich; while the laboring poor form a pariah caste, forever unable to emancipate themselves?

Shall honest occupation always be regarded as a taint, and the test of nobility be uselessness? For be it remembered that the Southern oracles give out that color is no necessary condition of slavery. Poverty is the sole condition precedent, ignorance is the forced lot of labor, and absolute domination of the rich over the poor, the F.F.'s over the white as well as black trash, is the new gospel of the Richmond dynasty. Shall the honors of the State and the advantages of social position be open to all men according to their capacity? This is the true democratic doctrine. The new revelation is that a privileged class should hold all the advantages, and the great multitude be doomed to unrequited labor to support their masters in riotous living. Shall the great experiment, hitherto in the loyal States successful, be pushed to farther successes? or shall we shut down on future progress, pronounce the republic a failure, and inaugurate in the North, after Southern precedent, an aristocracy the meanest and most miserable that the world ever saw? Shall the Union stand, sacred in its historic memories, proud in its power, beneficent in its operation, just in its laws, and glorious in its future; or shall all this be abandoned, that a slave oligarchy may reign, from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and the kindred despotisms of the Old World rejoice? These are the issues. The question is not the existence of Slavery in certain States of the Union, but the domination of the Slave Power over the whole continent.

Shall we submit to this? And nothing less than this is contemplated by the conspirators, who lie in their throats when they call themselves Democrats. What do the true democracy of the country owe these men? And on what grounds are the people invited to sustain them? Resistance to the National Administration, under their dictation, is simply fealty to Jefferson Davis. Support of their nominees in the State elections is direct war upon the National Administration. War upon the Administration is war upon the country. It is equivalent to mutiny in the army and navy, and its success is defeat of the national arms, by land and by sea.

What, we ask, do the democracy owe these men? What do the betrayed owe to those who have deceived and ruined them? The Convention at Charleston, in 1860, had it entirely within

its power to sweep the course, and triumphantly elect its candidate. Had love of the Union been the motive and impulse of the Southern pseudo-democrats, they would have united with the Northern democracy in shaping the action of the party in such a way as to secure the election of their nominee to the Presidency. But they had no such wish. They had suffered long enough the Northern scum to come between the wind and their nobility. They desired the dismemberment of the Republic, and they commenced the work in the destruction of the party organization. The Northern Democrats had defended Slavery as an evil to be endured for the sake of Union. The South made Union subordinate to Slavery. The chivalry had long laughed in their sleeves at the honest and simple confidence in which the Northern democracy acted with the South against their own convictions. The Southern masters presumed that the mudsills, being but a Northern extension of the strata of Southern white trash, would only too cheerfully submit to lordly dictation, and carry fire and sword into every town and hamlet of the North. They expected and desired no victory at the polls. They threw away the predominance they held in Congress, sufficient to nullify all the measures of the incoming administration, and with lordly disgust and contemptuous pity withdrew from Washington, and firmly believed that with their departure the whole fabric must fall. They fully counted on bloodshed and rebellion throughout the North, and that, in the national weakness, the case would go by default, and a Southern conspirator be proclaimed at the Capitol. Southern officers in Army and Navy turned traitors by scores. Only the privates, the people, the democracy, remained true. Southern office-holders perjured themselves. Southern leaders carried on treachery and theft on a scale never before seen since the world began, even confiscating the honest debts due to the friends of Southern merchants in the North. All men out of their evil camp were aghast at their stupendous villainy. Even their present foreign newspaper allies, not then as yet subsidized, stumbled upon the truth in commenting upon their conduct.

And all these leading traitors claimed to be—Democrats! Again we ask, what do the honest democracy of the North owe to the men who have made their time-honored designation a sy-

nonyme for all villainy? Perhaps the severest trial to a man's complacency is when he becomes disenchanted. We are the creatures of trust. However much some men may pride themselves in the "dangerous luxury of doubt;" however against certain classes and parties we may be jealous and suspicious, however we may boast of our vigilance, we must confide in somebody. In proportion as we suspect in one direction we trust in others. Just to the extent that we watch one man we are careless of the rest. The deer in the fable, blind of one eye, kept a sharp look out on the land side as he grazed. The shot that killed him came from the water.

The most humiliating disenchantment is when the veil falls from false friends, and we find them to be bitter enemies. The most disagreeable and humbling discovery in the world is to be convinced that you have been used as instruments by designing schemers. Men who have professed the most unbounded devotion to the common object which has proved the bond of friendship, forget all that, and for their own selfish purposes discard and disgrace you. No disgrace is more keenly felt by a man of high feelings and honorable purposes, than the revelation that in all his past labors he has been but a dupe. We can imagine no mortification more thorough than the discovery that those who have joined you in a course to which you brought the highest ideas of patriotism, were all the while laughing at your simplicity, despising the object to which they professed devotion, and seeking only their own unworthy ends at your expense.

Such is the position of the political party in the North which, up to the time of the Charleston Convention, acted in good faith with the men of the same political name in the South. And hence we wonder not that among the most zealous of the Union men in the forum and in the field have been the true democracy of the Northern States. Revolutions, like fires, reveal secrets, and the domestic troubles in our midst have exposed many Northern traitors, and exhibited them in colors more vile than Southern rebels. The Southron has the excuse of prejudice, the apology of fear, the claim of property, and the plea of pride. The Northern traitor has not a particle of this thin covering to conceal his naked deformity. He is simply a cringing, servile, low-spirited minion. While he does the dirty work of his South-

ern masters he is meaner than the black slave, because his servility is his own choice. He desires no higher honor than subserviency. He deserves no better meed than that the lash, whose sacred function he defends, should reach his own carcass. A terrible retribution is in store for the cravens, in the contempt which, already falling on those who abet Southern treachery, will become intensified with every Union victory, and descend in intolerable weight upon them when the doom of the rebellion is sealed.

But the great mass of the Northern democracy is loyal. Honestly, and for the best of motives, they took the course which they believed would insure the permanence of the Republic. We will not, now, stop to point out how, in efforts at pacification and conciliation, they strengthened the hands of those who deliberately planned the destruction of the Union. They did this unwittingly. They were closely watching the side whence they expected danger, and the ruin came on them from an unexpected quarter. They were zealous for the honor of the land, and for the integrity of the Union. The democracy of the North gloried, as they do still, in the proud flag of the United States, and were jealous for every star. They defended, with whole-hearted zeal, the heritage our fathers left us. "Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country, right or wrong," was their motto. For this they sacrificed their own convictions. For this they denied their own friends, and warred against their own principles; deeming it better to endure an exceptional wrong than to violate, even in spirit, the compact of Union. And their reward has been the being betrayed as a party, and misunderstood as men. The insolent taunt to the free democracy of the North, which was conveyed in the impression at the South that the Northern democracy would war, with the South, against the beneficent government of the United States, is second only to the insults which the rebels have heaped upon the flag itself.

Nobly, when Sumter fell, and the rebel banner superseded the stars and stripes, nobly and everywhere did the people of the North rise against so foul a desecration. And furiously did the Secession fiends reply to this unlooked for demonstration.

In the surging on of great events, we forget small incidents;

yet there are some of the interludes and asides in the great drama, now drawing to its close, tragedy to the rebels, triumph to the loyal, which it is well to remember. The fools in the action of the piece relieve the heavy business. The Quattlebums in Charleston who, with seven thousand, had driven seventy men out of Sumter, waited for the return news from the North, determined to give the suppliant Abolitionists no terms, and to hear of nothing from the Lincoln hordes but unconditional submission. But when the result proved that the "tremendous victory" had not appalled the North, when even Democrats moved in mass against them, when the whole people as one man pledged themselves to replace the Stars and Stripes on Sumter, the Quattlebums were raving with rage. They jumped up to give their curses voice, stamped down to give them weight, and fairly danced on the Northern papers which were crowded with reports of speeches,—Democratic speeches,—in favor of the Union, and denunciation of rebellion. They rolled the obnoxious sheets into balls, and hurled them to the earth in contempt;—gloriously mad were they, and eloquent in action, earnest, if not strictly Demosthenian. The dusky slaves looked on in admiration. "Fo' Gosh! Massa mighty mad now!" How does "Massa" feel to-day, and what does Quashy think, with the despised Yankee Abolitionists thundering at the gates of the citadel of rebellion? We said *all* the North were united then. All the true *men* were, but some men, called such by courtesy, sneaking at that time in safe compliance, and in false pretence of loyalty, now creep out in their true colors. Pah! An ounce of civet, good apothecary! And these men now edit and support newspapers more acceptable to the Southern taste, advocate measures more propitiatory to their rebel cousins, and strive, too late, to redeem the promise which they made, and could not keep, that the Democracy of the North would sustain the South in rebellion. The magnitude of the lie was worthy of the knavery of those who uttered, and the folly of those who believed it. No wonder the Quattlebums and Ruffins (? ruffians) were furious. Their disappointment was awful. Their fears were prophetic.

No slave escapade ever equalled the throwing off the Southern yoke by Northern freemen. The "moral force of indignation"

carried all before it. The discovery of the treachery of the South, and the disgusting revelation of the manner in which Southern lords of the lash had confounded Northern democrats with Southern slaves, gave the war an impetus which, sometimes impeded, has never yet known recoil. The vigor and firmness with which the loyal men of the Union have supported a loyal government is, more than any victory in arms, the honor of our land. More than this, it is the assurance of success; and the true democrat will not for any party triumph defraud himself of a democrat's honest share in his country's glory. Only those who would procure, if possible, the triumph of the traitors, and whose "wish is father to the thought," will in this hour of triumph surrender their share of the glory which Democrats always have won and worn as the lovers of their country. To be a Democrat is to be heartily loyal, and to respond to the well-expressed sentiment, "One God, one country." The cheers with which that terse loyal epigram was recently received by assembled thousands in the city of Philadelphia, speak the sentiment of the people of the United States, banded under the Constitution in "a more perfect union," than any mere confederacy can cement.

Ultimate victory is sure,—sure as the justice of heaven. It is the fear of this that has forced the enemies of the country into desperate measures. To defeat the Administration is to play into the hands of the traitors. *And the leaders of opposition to the Government, in an hour when we need all our strength and perfect union, are simply and purely rebels.* It is not merely the fact of opposition,—though that were enough, —that proves them rebels, but the motive of the opposition, and the manner in which it is conducted. There is not a measure proposed by the miscalled Democrats, but real conspirators, that would not tell, if carried, to the advantage of the traitors in arms. Beauregard officially proclaims all Northern soldiers "Abolitionists." And the Richmond papers announce as the only means of counteracting the "baneful effects" of the victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, to be "either foreign intervention, or a determined and successful opposition by the conservative masses of the North, to the Abolition faction which has the control of the Government at Washington." The traitors

South and the traitors North are in perfect accord, and the armies of the Confederates and the conventions of the Northern conspirators aim at precisely the same object,—the destruction of the Government of the United States. The rebels recognize their allies, and yet would fain only use them till their end is gained,—treat with them, as they themselves elegantly express it, with their fingers compressing their noses, and then spurn them as they did the Democracy at Charleston. The supreme good at which the South aims, is the darkening of this whole continent with chattel slavery. We at the North have defended, or at any rate, tolerated Slavery to preserve the Union. Now the rebels, through their Northern agents, call on the Democrats of the North to destroy the Union, that negroes may be kept up to their old quotations.

The Confederates glory in the name of rebels, and are not ashamed of the designation of traitors, but fancy that the scorn which attaches to the term "Abolitionist" will weigh down all to whom it is applied. We do not discuss here the question of emancipation; the logic of facts will determine that. But "the disciples were called *Christians* first in Antioch." That term of reproach has become the world's highest designation of honor. A name of obloquy becomes at last a tower of strength, when it is designed to stamp good as evil. "Democrat" was a name given at first in derision, and repelled with indignation. To-day no man, of whatever party, is ashamed of it, except because that it has fallen into evil association. It has been the assurance of victory and the badge of triumph. The time may come when no man will be ashamed to be suspected of desiring that his country were free from the taint of Slavery, even though on suspicion he is branded as an Abolitionist. The time has already come when no true Democrat can join the Southern cry, "Perish the Union, but save Slavery!" The time has come when all true Union men will approve the measures which deprive traitors and rebels of any and all property which supports them in their treason.

The motive of opposition to this war is purely friendship for the rebels, and enmity to the Union. The nominee of the pseudo-democrats for a responsible and important office, wrote under date of March 7th, 1860, to Jefferson Davis, "I should like to

go to Nicaragua, to help open that country to civilization and niggers." Elegant and chivalrous correspondent! And he further declares, that he "is tired of being a white slave at the North, and longs to go to the sunny South!" Pity that he were not there, and all his comrades, for all are of the same complexion. From the highest down, there is not a man of them who is not forsworn to all the true interests of the people; not a manager of the precious clique who is not a rebel at heart.

The question of the day is, Shall we flank the Union armies by an alliance with their foes? Shall we sacrifice the country to give office and pelf to the allies of the traitors who are in arms against us? The purposes of the Southern rebels are now apparent. We have unconsciously and innocently, and from better motives than they could understand or appreciate, supported them in times past, before they bolted from the Union. Shall we now, with our eyes open, become parties to their crimes, and aid and comfort them in their avowed rebellion and treason? They have hitherto made tools and instruments of us for their own selfish ends, and deceived while they despised us. Shall we still wear their butternut colors, and do their behests, receiving a well-deserved double portion of their scorn? Shall we be the servants of their Northern allies, and the willing dupes of men who emulate the chivalry in their contempt for honest labor? Shall we consent to the estimate which these men place upon us, as shown in the language with which they address us, and the appeals which they make to our supposed ignorance? Are the Democracy of the North really *afraid* of the poor negroes, and willing to believe that the black men can actually come in injurious competition with them?

Worse than all, are the free men of this State, or of any State, willing to be classed with the burglars, highwaymen, incendiaries, pimps, pickpockets, and murderers who held the city of New York in terror? or with the K. G. C.'s and conspirators of other sections? Whatever these men may be, of one thing we are sure, that they are not the supporters of the Administration, or the opposers of the rebellion. Their foul deeds are hailed as glorious by the Southern press. The enemies of our country in Europe congratulate themselves, that the riots of

Governor Seymour's friends in New York offset the rebel disaster at Gettysburg. Or are the Democracy of the North ready to be classed with the traitors who claimed the friendship of the invaders of Pennsylvania, and with sycophantic eagerness, pointed out the houses and property of Union men? Yet these rioters and domestic enemies all vote the tickets put forth by the Northern conspirators, miscalled Democrats. The candidates nominated are selected for such qualifications as will recommend them to Jefferson Davis in Richmond, and to his disloyal friends in the loyal States. We *must* doubt the character of men who have such friends. Rebels vote only for rebels, and the cause which recommends itself to such parties cannot be that which the lovers of truth and justice can support.

We know very well that a condition of war necessitates measures which in peace would be insupportable because uncalled for. But whose fault is it that these measures are necessary, where, except for the invited raids of Lee, the existence of war would scarcely be known? Who is accountable but these very men, who now demand with matchless impudence that we should support them with our free votes? Who have held secret correspondence with the enemy? Who have repeated, so far as they dare, the rebel war-cry amongst us? Who have given the enemy aid and comfort? Who have persistently embarrassed all war measures? Who have employed the courts of law, so far as chicanery would go, for the prevention of enlistments? Of what school are the Judges (save the mark!) who travel out of their record to charge grand juries on subjects as far from their jurisdiction as patriotism is from their hearts, and who issue writs of Habeas Corpus from courts whose institution includes no such privilege? Who are the inevitable counsel of deserters, alien enemies, home traitors, cheating substitutes, and bounty thieves? Any man who knows the roll of lawyers in our cities can state, as a foregone conclusion, by what attorney any person arrested for a crime against the Government will be defended. Who have steadily pursued the one darling object of enfeebling the national arms? Who have gloated over our reverses, and declared that the rejoicing at victories, the outburst of the true national heart, "killed them by inches?" Every one of these traitors will be found either figuring upon or

voting for the tickets concocted by the pseudo-democrats. And every vote thus cast is a vote for Jefferson Davis. Every vote polled for the Northern traitors is a vote given for the rebel dynasty.

But we ask, who is accountable for the occasional summary exercise of the war power among us? Just the men, and no others, who, by their sympathy with rebellion, made these arrests necessary.

> "No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law."

And it is not surprising that they complain loudly of the rigorous police which their treason made necessary. Yet they would not for the world that it should not have been. First they have the benefit of the occasional arrest, by mistake, of a person who should not have been disturbed, and of this accidental injury they make no small capital; whereas *they* really deserve the blame, and not the Government. And next they have been enabled to play the martyr. They invite arrest, and come forth from the show of punishment rejoicing in a notoriety which nothing else could have given them. Some men would almost be hanged, and quite be pilloried, rather than not be notorious. These patriots appeal as "jail birds" for sympathy. Let them find sympathy with "jail birds," not with the free Democracy who are not familiar with the "inner life" of Moyamensing and Fort Lafayette. There are certain of their constituents who can more than commiserate them, the volunteers in the left wing of Lee's army, who rioted themselves into Sing Sing by the amusements of murder, arson, and burglary. It is hard that the leaders should be sent to Congress, and fill high State offices, while the poor dupes pay the penalty; but this is "peculiar" to Southern chivalry, and the Northern imitation of it.

But, it is said, in a free country there must be diversity of opinions; and all men have a right to their expression. In ordinary times this is true; but when the life of the nation is at stake no man has a right to give sympathy and aid to the enemy. It is treason. If these men who appeal to the Democracy for their votes against the Government and against the people were

really Union men, as some of them pretend to be, while others scorn such subterfuge and are traitors out and out,—if, we say, they were really Union men, they would certainly have a word at least in defence of the nation and against its enemies; but the burden of their song is always faultfinding with the Administration. They oppose any and every measure which is taken for the defence of the country. They are foes to every movement for the success of the national cause. The triumph of such nominations would be better than a victory in arms to the rebels. Northern traitors dishonor and discredit the patriotism, and trample upon the corses of those who have fallen in the defence of the country. Their whole sympathies are unqualifiedly with the rebellion, whatever they may pretend. They acted with the traitors before the resort to arms,—not innocently, like those who have purged themselves since the rebellion, by abandoning party for country,—but they acted with their eyes open. They were parties to the foul conspiracy, and are but maintaining their consistency now, by a sneaking warfare which merits and receives the contempt of bolder and more manly rebels.

And these are the men who call on the abused Democracy to sustain them at the polls, and to give the loyal States chained into their hands. Suppose their success possible, in what would it result? Peace, they cry. Peace! Peace, but how? By letting the South go? How shall we reach this result? Shall we sue for it? Shall we withdraw our armies? Are we ready, then, to pay a ransom for our cities, which the South will certainly exact, to remunerate themselves for the cost of their rebellion? Are we ready, having acknowledged the new quasi republic, to resist, when, having formed foreign alliances, the South demands of us to make good the losses of foreign blockade runners and neutral shipbuilders? Are we ready to establish a cordon of custom-houses along the whole line of frontier, with daily skirmishes between soldiers and smugglers? Are we ready to consent as a preliminary to surrender without offset, the millions of dollars lost by our merchants in Southern debts? Are we prepared to pay their confederate debt, and to compensate the slaveholders for the riches which have taken to themselves legs, and to give security against such loss for the future? The South having become a foreign nation, are we content to

have a class of foreign spies and agents domiciled among us? For these agents of the South, judges who disgrace the ermine; lawyers who escape expulsion from the bar only by the technicalities which protect great rogues; merchants who would sacrifice their country for an advance in gold, and clergymen who know no higher law than that of the money-changers who infest the temple,—these men would not migrate to the new empire. Not they! They know better. They could best serve their clients, and fill their own pockets, by continuing, under even more profitable conditions, the part they have always played. They would still claim all the privileges of the free North, at a safe distance from the masters who despise while they enrich them. A mine of wealth or a harvest of blood would be open, in boundary disputes, navigation questions, claims for runaways, and the thousand causes of feud. These false Democrats have counted on all this, and hope, in their nominations, if they do not secure office, to secure at least a pre-emption right to Southern favor. Are we ready for all this? In fine, are we prepared to bequeath to our children and children's children centuries of war and bloodshed?

But the quasi Democrats say, "Bring back our erring sisters." Those sisters are coy, and have hitherto resisted all the gentle blandishments of Vallandigham, Wood, the Seymours, Woodward, Reed, Virgil Delphini Paris, Bright, and Cox.

We might lengthen the list of these worthies, but we have no taste for the enumeration, and would rather not be suspected of knowing too many of them. Besides, these men give us the exact creed of the faction. Their utterances form the Delphine edition. It was a happy thought—perhaps prophetic—in the elder Paris to name his boy from a title-page, and to make him break Priscian's head with his every signature. He must thereby have acquired a habit of blundering. The New York Seymour was wise and suppressed his treason till he had deceived honest Democrats into voting for him. The others, like Seymour of Connecticut, and the traitors in Maine, come out openly for treason. Seymour of Connecticut declared his intention to subordinate the Union to the State and was defeated. So we believe will all traitors be, who openly show themselves. But suppose, for the sake of illustration, the North besotted and

the South restored, not as a pardoned criminal, but as forgiving the North for daring to dispute the "forbearing South." The first item in the compact must be a full recognition of Slavery as the normal condition of labor everywhere. The next must be payment for all the personal chattels lost in the war. The next must be the assumption of the Confederate debt. The foreign losses by the capture of blockade runners will have to be settled under this compact. Bills of claims will be piled up for all the individual losses of the war. And if the old Southern influence is re-established they will be paid too; for never did the demands of the chivalry on the National Government fail to be met. The "alien enemies" whom we have supposed in the alternative of a separation, would, by the condoning of the felony of rebellion, be domestic foes. They would point to their record and claim their reward from the South, and aid the whitewashed rebels to visit vengeance on all loyal men. These form but a partial enumeration of the liabilities our pro-rebellion Democrats would place us under. Bankruptcy and ruin would follow inevitably, winding up in the Jeff. Davis specific,—repudiation, especially should he, the arch-repudiator, be our first President under the new regime. Such no doubt would form a portion of their plan. They would not even require so superfluous a thing as an act of amnesty for the rebels; but might, after persuasion, grant one to those who have dared to be loyal and sustain the Administration which the people placed in power. The "mudsills" will find their true place in the new "peculiar institution" dynasty, and be starved into submission by the supplanting of all domestic industry by foreign manufactures.

Such would be the consequences if the dominance of the rebel interest were possible. But though no such full development of their plans can occur, yet every political success which we permit to them brings to pass some degree of their villainous designs. They have already protracted the war, and compelled the draft against which they protest, by discouraging enlistments. They have invited foreign interference, doing what no party before ever stooped to do, seeking an interview in their character of politicians with a foreign minister. They employ against the success of the nation in its struggle, all the fears of

the timid, the stupidity of the ignorant, the prejudices of the narrow-minded, and the wickedness of the vile. These are their means of warfare. They play with the men they deceive as with puppets, keeping themselves out of the way of personal harm. Shall we be classed in such a party? Shall we suffer the honored name of Democracy thus to be stolen, as

> "The livery of heaven
> To serve the Devil in?"

Shall we, when the sure retribution of justice overtakes these traitors, have the bitter memory that of such men we have been the dupes? that for such selfish and heartless demagogues we have "fouled our mind?" There is a quaint old proverb: "You cheated me once: that was *your* fault. If you cheat me again, it is mine." The men who ask us to-day, under the false assumption that they are Democrats, to vote them into power, are fellow-conspirators with those who brought upon us this war. Shall we join them in the endeavor to procure the defeat which they promised their confederates at the South should fall upon the North? The holy and patriotic instincts of the nation have foiled this double treason thus far, and please heaven shall forever forbid it. The struggle may by political chicanery be prolonged; but the triumph of truth is sure in the end. The question for all men is, whether they will keep their conscience good, by loyal, consistent, earnest effort in the cause of truth and justice, or whether they will be to themselves a perpetual disgust, and a shame to their children, by alliance with the pitiful clique of doomed traitors who would fain sell the heritage of freedom and destroy the hopes of all who have looked to this land, and to our free institutions, as the means of moral and political regeneration to the human race.

And now, reader, whoever you are, we appeal to you, earnestly, to cast your vote and use your interest, either or both, in the cause of the national redemption. We are passing through a dangerous crisis. The defeat of the Union cause at the polls may indefinitely protract this struggle; and to protract it is to invite the interference of meddlesome foreign governments against us. Already we are humiliated by the proclamation of a sham empire on our southern border. No foreign nation would

have dared this except for our civil war. The French interference is, if this war is not soon terminated, only a commencement. Other and more decided steps will be taken by European governments, only too anxious as they are to stay the onward progress of this great people. If we prove ourselves equal to this crisis, we stand the first power in the world. If we fail, freedom goes back a thousand years, and old-time feudalism revives by the victory of its bastard counterpart, the black-based feudalism of the American plantations.

There are only two sides in this contest. We *must* vote for representatives of the Union sentiment, or we vote for Jeff. Davis et als., who are the great criminals of the nineteenth century, indicted before the universe for treason against a free government, perjury, theft, and murder,—a treason the sum of all villainies. We must not regard their evil deeds with any false tolerance or sickly charity. They are unmitigated in villainy and steeped in crime; and those who assist them are partners in their guilt. The death of every man who has fallen in this unholy rebellion and in the effort to suppress it lies at their door. The manifold evils, mischiefs, and sufferings of this war are their guilt, and a just God will hold them to answer for it. All who vote for their Northern allies and confederates now, are accessories after the fact, and are sharers in the responsibility of the farther continuance of this desolating contest.

It may be that we should some of us prefer to vote for other Union men than those who are placed in nomination. But we have no choice, except as between these and the satraps of Jefferson Davis. Union men, true Democrats, would not suffer their claims to distract the votes of those who wish to save their country. Party lines are lost sight of. Union men unite on the best and most available candidates, and the issue is thus squarely made between treason and loyalty. Those who dare attempt to divide the strength of the united people now, are the men whose antecedents and whose present status and declarations mark them as the friends of the rebellion, anxious only to embarrass the action of the State and General Government, to defeat our armies, and to save traitors from the consequences of their crimes, if not to secure their absolute triumph.

In such a position, open, declared, and above board, stands

the man whom the conspirators have put forward as candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania,—Pennsylvania, whose record in this war is below that of no State for loyalty, heroism, constancy, and generous sacrifice. The blood of her sons has crimsoned every field, and the roll of her martyrs for freedom is attested in every town and hamlet by the weeds of the widow, the tears of the orphan, the sorrows of the childless. On all this the nominee of the so-called Democrats casts contempt. Nay, he sentences them by an extra judicial judgment to dishonor. His sympathies, and if we may accept his word, his convictions, are in favor of the South. He does not *excuse* Slavery, but *defends* it as divinely sanctioned. A man whose word cannot be denied, a former political friend of Judge Woodward, publicly states that this aspirant for the highest office in a free State, says, "To think about Slavery is a sin, to talk about it a crime, to question the right of Slavery is infidelity!" Hear that, ye holders of the land of Penn, and if you suffer such a man to misgovern your State, change the name of the Commonwealth to Spot-sylvania, Plague-Spot-sylvania. Never may be such insult to the memory of the great modern apostle of free government and free thought, the founder of a State in which was passed the first law against Slavery, and in which was formed the first society for its repression, headed by Franklin, and patronized by his fellow-patriots! "Judge Woodward," says the same authority, "is an avowed Secessionist. He believes in it. It is the doctrine of the school in which he was reared. He holds that no man at the South carries out the doctrine of State Rights more rigorously than he. He would make this Union a mere organized weakness. Vallandigham or Fernando Wood are no more committed to unconditional peace than Judge Woodward. Indeed he has even of late denounced his own party for embracing the warlike opinions of the day. His opinions are upon the record."

It may be that some of us disapprove a part of the measures taken to suppress the rebellion, while we heartily wish success to the national arms. These are the days of sacrifice. It is a small thing to sacrifice our prejudices or our opinions, when the cause of the Union demands a united front, and when thousands of our countrymen have sacrificed their lives, and thousands

more are maimed or disabled for life. It may be that some of the consequences of the war displease us. But war is at any rate a misfortune, and this was not a war of our seeking. It was forced upon us; and if the necessities of the case have compelled steps on the part of the Administration which we disapprove, let the blame lie where it belongs,—at the door of the Southern conspirators and their Northern confederates, who, and who only, have precipitated war upon us. It must be that in this gigantic undertaking, the vindication of the integrity of the Republic, many mistakes have been made. The wonder is, however, not that errors have been committed, but that in despite of all the difficulties which had to be encountered, such vast results have been achieved. We hesitate not to say, and all the unprejudiced must admit it, that a more triumphant war, under circumstances so embarrassing, never was waged. Never was a nation's credit so well sustained. Never did national securities range in the market above par under such circumstances. Never did a nation bear so wholly its own burden, or decline the aid of foreign usurers. Never were the industrial pursuits of a people so uninterrupted, that the fact of abundant employment makes it purely a matter of choice with the poorest whether to enlist or not. At this very day the national securities of this country, deep in an expensive war, are the only government securities in the world which command an advance on their nominal value. And as to the condition of private citizens, no man who is willing to be employed is idle. The taxes, immense in their aggregate, are readily paid, and without distress. A government under whose administration these pleasant anomalies occur, is fully deserving of our entire support, until the danger is over, and the Union restored. After that we can afford to be partisans again; but it is to be hoped with more distrust of party managers than heretofore.

But in these very facts, in the smooth rotation of the civil administration, and in the wonderful successes of our army and navy, in the competence of the Government to meet this immense crisis, and in the startling improvements in arts and arms, in the development and improvement of all that the needs of the hour require, we find "what is the matter." Some who oppose the war,—and they are the darkest villains yet unhung,

—do so because they fear its triumphant close, and the utter extinction of treason, and all that treason loves. As the end seems more sure, they become more desperate. It is a thousand pities that all such sneaking traitors were not in range of Gillmore's batteries, or Grant's or Rosecrans's artillery. Perhaps, like Cain, they are reserved for a punishment more severe.

And there are others less sanguinary, but meaner still, who oppose the war because they hope for personal advantage in so doing, and feel sure that their opposition cannot affect the main result, though it may despoil the victory of some of its legitimate benefits. These are the huckstering politicians, the small wire-pullers, who would consent to any humiliation within safe limits, for the rewards of little ambition and the perquisites of petty office. They could not aspire to flatter Neptune for his trident, for that would not pay; but they would flatter traitors for their votes and influence, and be guilty of the poor hypocrisy of dissembling evil, to secure the suffrages of evil men. It is a dangerous game—playing with loaded arms which may destroy them.

No, fellow-citizens, we cannot trifle with the great issues now on trial. We dare not. Now is the time, sternly to discountenance all treason, direct or indirect, express or implied. The eyes of a world are upon us. The hopes of a world rest on our action. We must vindicate the national honor, and defend the cause of free principles. We must rise superior to all party considerations, and put the fact on record, to abide in its happy consequences, while the world stands, that a free people can sustain a free government, against foes within as well as without. We must show that we can even let our personal rights remain in abeyance, and defer our preferences, when the nation calls on every man to do his duty.

This rebellion *must* be put down. And the only agents whom the people can employ to do this great work are the present incumbents of the national offices. The central government relies upon the state administrations. The whole must be in harmony, to present an unbroken front and successful resistance to the common enemy, the foes in arms at the South, and the worse than Southern traitors, their Northern allies. The utmost strength of the nation is needed, and whatever causes embar-

rassment to the Administration is a diversion in favor of the traitors. *There is no division among loyal men.* They compromise their differences, and under whatever party call they have rallied heretofore, now rally round the flag of the Union. Every vote cast for those who are in known sympathy with the rebellion, is aid and comfort to treason. Down with the rebellion, then, and let what must, go with it. After that we shall have leisure for the discussion of collateral and secondary issues. Now the question is, the NATION'S LIFE OR DEATH. The issues involved are too momentous to be disturbed by side questions. There is no danger to any right or privilege of freemen in the conquest of treason; but, after the fall of this Republic, there is no redemption of our commonest rights, save through new years of anarchy and suffering.

An inequitable and unrighteous peace cannot be permanent, nor would the provisions of such a peace be tolerable. Forward then, under the leadership we have, to new victories and sure success; falter and divide, and you prolong the contest. And above all, be not beguiled by the professions of those whose whole record shows their treachery, and whose residence among us is but an exile from their own place. Again we say, there is, whatever may be our objections to the "powers that be," no choice except between them and the oligarchy of Davis and his co-mates. "The Union must and shall be preserved." The loyal opposition to Andrew Jackson's administration went heart and hand with him in this noble sentiment and its vindication. Let the loyal men who did not vote for Abraham Lincoln give him similar hearty support, in his equally honest and patriotic course, and the days of the rebellion are numbered.

W 60

WERT
BOOKBINDING
Grantville, Pa.
March - April 1995